

FOREMOST FREEDOM FIGHTERS



His Holiness Satguru Ram Singh, the founder of the Namdhari Sikh Community, who launched the freedom of the movement.



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ਹਰਬੰਸ ਸਿੰਘ ਚਾਨਾ ਸਾਉਥ ਹਾਲ
ਇੰਗਲੈਂਡ ਮਿਡਲ ਸਿਕਸ (ਯੂ ਕੇ)

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ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗਤਿਗੁਰੂ ਰਾਮ ਸਿੰਘ ਜੀ ਜਨਮਦਿਨ

The Kuka sect of Sikhs was founded on April 13th 1857 at a small hamlet Bhaini Sahib in Ludhiana district of Punjab state of India by His Holiness Satguru Ram Singh Ji, the twelfth incarnation of Guru Nanak, to reform the Sikh religion from all the defiles which had crept into it by then. Both Guru Nanak, the first and Guru Gobind Singh, the tenth Sikh Guru, had prophesied about the advent and the activities of this incarnation. That's why, he was worshipped as twelfth prophet of Sikhs and the real successor of Guru Gobind Singh. Confirming this, Mr. J.W. Macnabb, Officiating Commissioner of Ambala Division, had written in November 1871, "I see in the earlier papers that Ram Singh was looked upon as a successor or actual re-embodiment of Guru Nanak, the saint. He is now the representative of Govind, the Warrior."

The followers of Satguru Ram Singh were called Namdharis or Kukas. "The reports from all sources agree that Kookahs are enjoined to wear a rosary, short drawers, a straight or untwisted pugree.." said Mr. Thornton about their dress. They were strictly vegetarian and teetotalers. Everybody was required to give up meat eating, drinking and smoking etc. before joining the sect. Writing about this aspect of Kuka life, Major Perkins wrote in 1866 that, "on initiation all vices are supposed to be foresworn, such as lying, stealing, drinking, adultery, etc. and are strictly forbidden. Kukas so offending are punished by a Panchayat."

Female infanticide and such other vices which were prevalent in the Punjab of those days, were also condemned. Satguru Ram Singh, in other words told his followers to lead a sin-free life and to be polite to the others. About his orders, Mr. Christie, the Assistant District Superintendent of Police, Amritsar had translated his circular

orders in the following words, "Let one not speak ill or harshly; be meek, bear ill or harsh sayings from all; if anyone strikes you, even then be meek; your protector is God. Always hide your good deeds..." Not only this, but he also instructed his followers to keep off the ill-doers, "If anyone commits adultery or theft then admit him nowhere in the meetings. Should he be powerful then all pray that he may be disabled from coming... Do not cover the evil deeds of others. Let no one receive money in lieu of daughter or sister, or barter them... Do not eat flesh or drink spirits..." The public adopted his preachings very quickly as they appealed to almost everybody.

People were being depressed under the burden of the superficial and Brahminical rites. As a religious reformer, Satguru Ram Singh told them to abandon all these. He gave them the cheapest and the simplest marriage ceremony which is still going on in the same way. Its cheapness is confirmed in the official reports also. "It is stated that the attractions the sect presents," wrote Major Bamfield, Deputy Inspector General of Police, Umballa Circle, "which induce men to come forward and join it, are the moderate expenditure at marriage ceremonies, and the immunity enjoyed from Brahminical oppression and exaction."

It was Satguru Ram Singh who gave much rights to the Sikh women that were not given to them before. For the first time he baptised them like men in June 1863. Giving them full equality he appointed one of his lieutenants from the women who proved to be very successful preacher according to the official reports.

It's a professed fact that, in general, the new ideas are opposed by the orthodox people. His ideas were too taken to be new. Notwithstanding the opposition from that section of the public, he got several followers within a few years. "From everything I see," reported a Police officer, "I am of opinion that the Kooka sect is daily increasing, while the Sikhs are on the decline." Stating the reasons of this increase he writes further that "Kooka converts are put to no expense whereas converts to Sikhism are." Then he illustrates his state-

ment saying that "...if the fifty men who have been converted to Kookaism during the fair had turned Sikhs, the Nihungs would have been benefited at least 50 Rupees..."

It was among the political motives of Satguru Ram Singh to re-establish the lost Sikh rule and to expell the British rulers who had introduced cow killing. Though the British resident had proclaimed, on behalf of the Governor General, on March 24, 1847 that - "The kine are not to be killed at Amritsar, nor are the Sikhs to be molested or in any way to be interfered with..." After the annexation of the Punjab, the position was altogether changed and the same British Government permitted the kine killing on 5th May 1849; and opened a slaughter house near the Golden Temple of Amritsar which sacrilegied both the holy tank and the temple. It hurt the feelings of Hindus as well as of Sikhs; and consequently, they were roused against the new rulers. Besides this, the kine killing had affected the economy of that part of the country. Secondly, the last Sikh ruler, Maharaja Dalip Singh, was dethroned, christianised - on March 8, 1853 - and at last was departed from his compatriots and deported to England. This had enraged the public of the Punjab.

In order to achieve their mission the Kukas boycotted the British on a very large scale. They never used British rails, canals, courts, schools and British made goods, etc. They even refrained from British Postal Service. "The Kukas ... have a private post of their own, which appears to be admirably organised. Confidential orders are circulated much in the Scottish bygone days." said an official report "A Kuka on the arrival at his village of another of the same sect with a despatch, at once leaves off whatever work he may be engaged upon; if in the midst of a repast, not another morsel is eaten..."

The meetings of Kukas were banned by the Punjab Government in 1863. In 1867, though the restrictions had been relaxed to some extent, Satguru Ram Singh was not permitted to attend the Maghi fair at Mukatsar in January 1867 as he usually used to do. Satguru Ram Singh announced that he would, in violation of the rule, hold the Hola

fair in March the same year at his village Bhaini Sahib. The Government had various views on this subject, but with a view to avoid unnecessary botheration for the administrative machinery, the Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab allowed him to visit that fair at Anandpur where it is celebrated in full swing. He went there accordingly with about 22,000 followers. But, to the astonishment of the Government, nothing happened there.

After this, he was to visit Amritsar in October 1867 where some disturbances were expected. But afterwards, the Inspector General of Police had to confess in his report that, "I never have seen a more orderly and obedient crowd or less crime than during this fair."

Col. R.G. Taylor had warned the Government in 1866 saying "It is my thorough belief that these lads (Kukas) mean war sooner or later." The Kukas determined to revolt against the Government. "Reports have reached Major Perkins that the Kukas openly talk of being Masters of the country, at the same time when all in the land will profess the new faith." The reporter added further, "In every creed enthusiasts exist, and as Ram Singh's followers have conducted themselves in an orderly manner, and shown forbearance under provocation, the saying of a few of the more fanatical amongst the sect cannot in justice be taken as a correct index of the state of feeling pervading in the minds of the majority." The intentions of the Kukas were conveyed to the Government in England also where they caused some consternation. "There can be no doubt," wrote Viscount Cranborne, the Secretary of State for India, on October 8, 1866, "that a wide spread and constantly increasing fraternity, of a more or less secret character, apparently well organized and devotedly attached to their chief, must contain the elements of "political mischief".

Satguru Ram Singh had established a parallel Government. He had divided the whole country into 22 parts and had placed a Suba or lieutenant in charge of each part. These men were almost astute and wise persons, some of them being so clever that even the high officials could get no information regarding their character, designs and activities

etc. Everything was kept most secret. That is the reason that in the record some reports are false or fabricated too. "I made several unsuccessful attempts to obtain from these men some information as to their family residence. All I could elicit from them" wrote Mr. Fuzul Hussain, Deputy Inspector of Police, "was that since their conversion to Kookaism, they had forgotten their residence, and only know of Bhainee as such and of Ram Singh as their Gooroo."

The Kukas finally revolted in 1869. Many men from this community either sold or set on fire their porperties before launching this opposition campaign. They attacked a Deputy Inspector of Police, Dewan Baksh and his assistant constable in Ferozepur district. Both were wounded along with the Inspector's horse. In the words of Lieutenant Colonel G. Hutchinson, Inspector General of Police, "They attempted to deter the police from their duty... Diwan Baksh stated that the party of Kukas used most seditious language, and proclaimed the Khalsa reign, setting all authority at defiance." Finally 44 men were arrested. Some of them were tried, not for revolting, but for rioting, by Mr. Knox, the Deputy Commissioner of Ferozepur.

The trials and punishments awarded to some Kukas in this case had no deterring effect on the community. On the contrary, the Kukas prepared themselves for another struggle and attacked the slaughter-house at Amritsar, on 15th of June 1871, killing four and severely wounding three butchers. After the attack they had succeeded to escape scot free. The police could trace no clue to the real culprits, and to save themselves from censure, tortured and got confessions from twelve other innocent persons who were finally presented to the session judge for trial as butcher-murders.

In the meantime, the real perpetrators visited Satguru Ram Singh who ordained them to confess their guilt in the court and to save the lives of the innocents. This was acted upon and finally the innocents were released. The death sentence was passed on four Kukas. Two were deported to the Andamans.

The Kukas, before their executions, took bath in the same holy tank, sang the hymns, put the silky string round their necks themselves and sacrificed their lives for their lofty aims joyfully. One month after, a similar attack was made on another slaughter-house at Raikote in Ludhiana district. This was also situated near another shrine of Guru Gobind Singh. In this attack two persons were killed and seven seriously wounded. The Kukas "made full confessions, which led to the conviction and the execution of the three of the numbers" who were hanged at the same town on 5th August while the other two, including one innocent, were executed at Ludhiana on 26th November 1871.

On one hand, the Kukas kept themselves busy in Punjab in rioting against the British rule. On the other, they got themselves enlisted in the armies of Jammu and Kashmir; and at the same time, established diplomatic relations with some states including Nepal and Russia, etc. without the cognizance of the Government. The recruitment started in the summer of 1869 and up to the end of 1870 nearly 250 Kukas were serving in the Kashmir, army as a separate regiment. They were paid one chilkie more than the other sepoy. Under the influence of the British Resident in Nepal and such other pressures, all the Kukas were dismissed from the service in the last part of 1871.

They had also established good relations with Sir Jung Bahadur of Nepal. He 'held the Guru Ram Singh with great reverence and regard.' It seems from the records that they had not only exchanged the gifts but most important information too. Colonel R.C. Lawrence, C.B., British Resident at Nepal, had described in his letter of 22nd November 1871, what he had heard from the Minister of Sir Jung Bahadur about the Kukas. He summed up all that saying that the minister, "... said that he had several conversations with them, about their leader, Ram Singh, and with reference to their number and position in the Punjab, and His Excellency (Sir Jung Bahadur) appeared to have been impressed with a sense of the strength and standing they had already obtained in the country, and he remarked that, unless well looked after, they would probably prove a

source of trouble to the British Government. The whole matter between Kukas and Sir Jung Bahadur was kept so secretly that the Resident "had no expectation of obtaining information as regards the real object with which Kookas visited Nipal."

Again in 1872, Satguru Ram Singh was not allowed to visit the same Maghi fair. He then made it public that he would arrange this fair at Bhaini Sahib and he did so. The people started to flock to the village on 10th January. There had been religious gatherings up to 13th morning. Before the religious meetings came to an end, another event occurred which changed the whole picture. A Kuka, Gurmukh Singh, came and told how a Mohammedan in Malerkotla had been riding on an old ox with a very heavy load of vegetables. When the man was requested to get down for sake of the poor ox, he (Gurmukh Singh) was subjected to tortures and the same ox was slaughtered before his eyes.

The Kukas had been agitated already by the execution of an innocent, Gyani Rattan Singh, in Raikote butcher murder case. The new story added fuel to the fire and, as soon as the fair ended, some leading lieutenants of Satguru Ram Singh made up their minds to attack the Malerkotla State and revolt against the British authority to avenge the death of Gyani.

They collected about 140 men and women who were ready to sacrifice their lives for their beliefs. Satguru Ram Singh suggested that they should wait for another year as the community was not fully prepared for the revolution yet, and as he would bring the revolution without any bloodshed then. But the leaders of the party, Hira Singh and Lehna Singh, said that they were ordained by the 9th Guru to sacrifice for sake of the cow and the poor. At last, they started on their mission. The Deputy Inspector of Police was then at the spot.

On their way to Malerkotla, they visited the Chief of Malodh, Sardar Badan Singh, who had once asked His Holiness for any help he could render. The Kukas now reminded him; he refused to give any weapons or horses

Namdhari Sikhs, putting the silky strings around their necks themselves, on 15th September 1871 at Amritsar.



Waryam Singh Kuka, at the time of executions in Malerkotla on 17th January 1872, standing on the bricks etc. to be in level with the cannon mouth.



etc. Then there arose a scuffle in which two men from each side were killed while the chief was wounded. After taking one gun, one sword, one horse and two mares from Malodh, the Kukas set out on their final destination.

The intelligence of the attack on Kotla had been conveyed to the Kotla authorities in advance by the Deputy Commissioner of Ludhiana. They were well prepared for a fight. The Kukas reached Kotla at the day break of 15th of January, and Major Perkins writes that a man informed him the same morning, "that when he left, the place was surrounded by Kookas and heavy fighting goint on."

The Kukas lost there seven men while two were wounded. But on the other side the loss was much more as eight people were killed and 15 wounded.

After achieving their mission, the Kukas retired to an adjoining village Rurr and resolved to surrender as they had come to kill the butchers and sacrifice themselves. They never wished to escape from death. Confirming this, Mr. Forsyth, Commissioner of Ambala, wrote on 22nd January to the Secretary to the Government of Punjab that "A party of 100 men, who had devoted themselves to death to carry out the plan of their leader, left the village of their Guru with the intention of seizing the defenceless state of Malerkotla". The Kukas went to the Sherpur Police Station and surrendered themselves. The Deputy Commissioner of Ludhiana, Mr. L. Cowan, wrote on 17th January to his superior Mr. Forsyth that "they were hungry, and tired and had a number of wounded men with them, and after a short parley, they gave up their arms, many of their swords covered with blood, and surrendered."

On receiving the intelligence of the attack the Deputy Commissioner started for Malodh and Malerkotla, with determination to "execute at once all who were engaged in the attacks on Malodh and Kotla", because, in his own words, "they are open rebels offering contumacious resistance to the constituted authority and to prevent the spreading of the disease, it is absolutely necessary that, repressive measures should be prompt and stern."

Mr. Cowan himself had no power of life and death. Nor he had approval of any superior authority. "I am sensible of the great responsibility," admitted he while writing to the Commissioner on 17th January, "I incur in exercising an authority which is not vested in me..." So, Mr. Cowan took the law in his hands and responsibility upon his shoulders. On getting this letter, Mr. Forsyth, the Commissioner, addressed him a Demi-official letter telling "... but for heaven's sake don't let the whole thing fall short of success by any hasty act." He had also suggested him in his letter of the same date, "you will prepare at once the case against such as appear to you to be deserving of capital punishment and I shall give immediate orders..." but Cowan was busy in carrying out his own plans. He had planned to execute the Kukas at the daybreak of 17th but it had rained the previous night and the paths were muddy. The rebels could reach Malerkotla in the evening of that day. In the words of Major Perkins, "Several of them (on their way to Kotla) were exceedingly abusive and declaring they would have no Government but their own &c. &c."

On reaching the execution place, the parade ground, the Kukas took bath in the water pool and said their prayers. Mr. Cowan got nine cannon from the neighbouring states. He conducted no trial. Even the names of the persons were not noted down. He proposed that the rebels must be tied to the guns before the executions but the brave men refused saying that they would come to the cannon mouth themselves turn by turn. Once again, he proposed them to stand with their backs to the guns; but again the brave Kukas answered him that only the cowards die a death by receiving the shots in their backs. They would die a bravely death by getting the shots in their chests. They did not fear the death but love it because they had come to die. Mr. Cowan was infuriated at this and ordered the fire before the prayer was finished by these rebels. To the surprise of all, the guns missed three shots. At last, after finishing the prayer, Hira Singh - the leader - said, "I shall again pass ten months in the womb of a Jat mother and come back to avenge myself. Your justice is just a lie. Your death and downfall is near at hand. We

shall be born again, hold the sword on our own hands and wage a war which will destroy your rule." Then he asked Mr. Cowan to fire for the fourth time. It was done and seven Kukas were blown to bits.

A Kuka Waryam Singh, was rather short. As a matter of fact, he was related to the Maharaja of Patiala. Therefore a member of the firing squad was interested in saving his life. So he pretended that this man could not be blown. The man ran at once to the neighbouring ploughed-field and brought some bricks etc. with him. He put these under his feet and challenged the gunman to fire as his height was now on a level with the cannon mouth.

Another, a young boy of about 12, Bishen Singh, was asked by Mr. and Mrs. Cowan to renunciate the Kukaism to save his life. On hearing these words, he caught Cowan's beard so tightly that his life was put in danger and was saved by the native officers who cut the hands and neck of Bishen Singh with their swords. Describing this tragic incident, Mr. Cowan himself wrote, "One man escaped from the guards and made a furious attack on me seizing me by the beard and endeavouring to strangle me, as he was a very powerful man, I had considerable difficulty in releasing myself."

Thus forty nine men were blown away while one was cut with swords, on the 17th. Mr. Cowan received the letter from Mr. Forsyth forbidding him from executing the rebels; but even after getting that Demi-official note, he continued his action.

Mr. Forsyth was also the Political Agent for the Kotla state and therefore he had the power of life and death. He was thinking of executing only a few men before he reached Malerkotla on 18th. In his own words, "I should have exempted from capital punishment those who had been severely wounded and their number was nearly twenty..." But on reaching Kotla he conducted a brief trial with determined mind to support "Mr. Cowan's acts so far as regards his usurpation of the Commissioner's authority". He never knew the truth himself about the rebels but

depended upon Mr. Cowan. Confessing this in his letter to the Secretary to the Government of Punjab on 22nd January, he wrote, "As there are no records of trial, none being held by him, I am unable to do otherwise than accept Mr. Cowan's assurances, that all the men were actually present at the attack on Kotla.." Consequently he executed the remaining 16 Kukas in the same way but the mode of execution was not explained clearly until asked by the Government.

The part played by Messrs. Cowan and Forsyth during this revolution was questioned by the Government of India. Local and foreign press also condemned it. Censuring this act in the strong words "The Friends of India", on 1st February 1872, wrote, "We protest, without waiting for official documents, against the wholesale Military Execution ordered by Mr. Deputy Commissioner Cowan, or carried out in his presence Indian Public Opinion says the former, but be the fact which of the two way in our view it deserves stern reprobation."

Expressing his views on the act, The Times' (London) correspondent wrote in his despatch of 2nd February that, "The important question is, has Mr. Cowan acted as we should like every Deputy Commissioner to act in the midst of popular passions, and without referring to his superiors, who were outside the range of those passions, and whose decision could have been received within a space of time that, under the circumstances, was of absolutely no importance to justice? I think not ... One way or the other - still the precedent is one of which England can not permit in times of peace, and when a subordinate has power to apply for instructions to his superior. Shooting down in this way is not governing."

High officials were also worried over this event though they did not dare to condemn this act publicly. Mr. E.R. Bourke, the brother of the Viceroy Lord Mayo, wrote a letter to his brother as soon as he came to know about this happening. "I was greatly relieved to find that Cowan's action towards the Kookas had not your approval." Mentioning his discourse, on the subject, with the Leiut-

enant Governor Punjab he further wrote that "He (Lt.Governor) appeared restless and anxious and when I told him that it would cause a great commotion at home and that the point that in 1872 such severe measures were considered necessary by the local authorities would be the subject of much talk at home he was much annoyed."

In a pamphlet on Martial Law, Mr. W.F. Finlason had written much about these wholesale executions. He thought that, "All the acts done by military authority during the prevalence of the state of war or rebellion would be out of the pale of ordinary law. But there would still remain the question of the propriety of the executions, which might, nevertheless, deserve censure."

The presence of Satguru Ram Singh was required urgently by Mr. Forsyth at Ludhiana, on the 17th January. As soon as he received the orders through the Deputy Inspector Shah Woolee Shah, he started from Bhaini Sahib the same moment, under an escort of the Deputy Inspector Golab Singh for Ludhiana. When he left Bhaini Sahib, there were about 200 Kukas according to the official reports. All of them were annoyed at his departure. They were weeping bitterly; but the departing Satguru Ram Singh reminded them that he was leaving according to the phrophecies made by Guru Gobind Singh. He assured them that, in accordance with the same, he would return in the same body.

The authorities had been looking for the chance to arrest him for a long time but they could find none. The Government knew that any trial would not be favourable to it. Expressing the views of the Punjab Government, the Officiating Secretary to that Government, Mr. H.L.Griffin, wrote to the Government of India in 1871, that, "it will be difficult, and may be impossible to obtain against Guru Ram Singh any such evidence, as would warrant his prosecution in a criminal court." Using the opportunity presented by the revolution, Mr. Forsyth arrested him on 18th morning when he reached Ludhiana at one o'clock. He was deported to Allahabad at 4 a.m. by a special train.

According to the available record, Mr. Forsyth had

no written instructions or orders to arrest and deport Satguru Ram Singh. Neither he had any warrants of arrest. Mr. Forsyth said that, before leaving Delhi for Ludhiana, he insisted on the written instruction which were not given and therefore he carried out the whole act of his arrest and deportation taking the responsibility upon himself. But the Lieutenant Governor disagreed with this account. In his words, "He (Mr. Forsyth) remained for several hours in Mr. Griffin's tent, and that gentleman assures me with reference to his statement that he (Mr. Forsyth) applied to him for the written instructions, that it is absolutely incorrect."

"As regards the arrest of Ram Singh," the Lieutenant Governor goes further, "he had no judgement at all to form. He had as he admits verbal orders, which he also admits he clearly understood, and in fact did carry out, to effect it. At the same time I fully allow that I promised he should have written orders on this point only. These were issued in respect of all the Subahs, to the Inspector General of Police ... but through some misapprehension not for Ram Singh himself." According to the Memorandum of the Lieutenant Governor, the arrest and the confinement place of Satguru Ram Singh had been discussed and decided with his Excellency, the Commander-in-Chief when Mr. Forsyth was also present. That's why he sent Satguru Ram Singh to the agreed place - Allahabad - without consulting anybody else.

It is evident that both these officers had gone beyond their rights and limits. It was the only action of its kind in the history. "There was a panic", added the Friend Of India, on 8th February 1872, "and so a civil officer blew from guns in cold blood and after a most wretched outbreak, more men than were blown away at any single time and place during the Mutiny when the very foundations of Empire seemed to be breaking up under our feet." For this appalling act Mr. Cowan was dismissed from service though not without a pension and Mr. Forsyth was removed to Audh and the judiciary power was taken from him.

Colonel J.C.P. Baillie, the Deputy Inspector

General of Police, was ordered to search the home of Satguru Ram Singh. All the valuable things, including Rupees 1828.8 annas in cash, were confiscated. A police post, under the charge of Amroa Ali Shah, Deputy Inspector and 20 other constables, was established at his home. All of these employees were highly merciless and sufficient to tyrannize the Kukas. The whole community was treated like criminals.

Sometime later, Satguru Ram Singh was asked by the Government to name any person who would be responsible for his property. He named his younger brother Budh Singh. Later on, he sent a letter of authority, secretly to his brother, renaming him as Hari Singh and authorizing him to perform all the duties of a Guru. During his charge, no more than five Kukas, could visit him without registering their names with the police in the police post; and were not allowed to return during the next six months.

Nobody knew the whereabouts of Satguru Ram Singh. Three years elapsed. One day, Baba Darbara Singh, who had been initiated by Satguru Ram Singh, visited the District Superintendent of Police Mr. Warburton on some official business and was told by Mrs. Warburton everything about him; including the way to see him in Rangoon. This was the first Kuka Sikh to visit Satguru Ram Singh in Rangoon and to procure a letter of authority for his brother. In this letter he (his brother) was invested with the powers of a Guru in his absence. Thereafter many men visited him in Burma and brought many letters to Punjab though a few were caught also. Severest restrictions were placed even on his servants in jail to prevent any possible correspondence and meeting with his followers. The fourth Guru had written in the Holy Granth that, 'should there be any storm, rain or the saltish sea to cross, the devotee of a Guru will cross it to see his Guru.' They were only Kuka Sikhs who did so.

It was the organisation of this community which frightened the Government very much, even after the deportation of Satguru Ram Singh and his 10 chiefs, who were considered most dangerous for the peace of the country, the

Government received the reports of the preparations for a new rebellion on part of the Kukas. Mr. Griffin, the Officiating Secretary to the Government of Punjab, informed the Government of India in his confidential letter of 2nd April 1872, writing, "The information received on this subject is necessarily somewhat general in its nature. It consists of the current reports and belief of the people, the statements of informers, the current reports of the Police Agents and Civil Officers in the Divisions of Lahore, Umritsar, Jullundur, and Umballa, and its general tendency, is to the effect that the Kookas meditated a rising against the Government at some convenient times placed in the Sialkote and Goojranwala Districts, and in the Umballa Division and the Cis-Suitlej States while at the same time it was given out that disturbances would commence at Umritsar or Anoundpoor."

The orthodox Sikhs opposed the Kuka Sikhs tooth and nail. After the wholesale executions at Kotla, they presented an address to the Lieutenant Governor on March 22, 1872 in which the action of Messers Cowan and Forsyth was highly praised. Though the chiefs and leaders continued their opposition to the Kuka movement, some official reports disclose that the tension among the ordinary Sikhs and Kukas had lessened. "Mr. O'Connor mentions that his conversations with orthodox Sikhs led him to suppose that much of the hostility formerly existing between them and the Kukas has passed away" are the words from a Memorandum, "He believes that the Sikhs would be only too glad to unite with the Kukas; did they see any prospect of the restoration of the Khalsa rule". But this never proved to be right belief as the Sikhs opposed the Kukas in favour of the Government. Had they joined them, the history of the freedom movement of India would have taken some other form.

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ੴ ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ
ਸ੍ਰੀ ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਰਾਮ ਸਿੰਘ ਜੀ ਸਹਾਇ
ਹਰਬੰਸ ਸਿੰਘ ਚਾਨਾਂ
ਇੰਗਲੈਂਡ—ਯੂ. ਕੇ.

His Holiness Satguru Jagjit Singh ji, under whose august patronage the Deportation Centenary is being celebrated in England at Ealing Town Hall on 16th July 1972.

